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ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST
AND
UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

JOINT UN/UNESCO SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION IN THE ECAFE REGION

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, in co-operation with the International Labour Office
8-18 August 1956
Bangkok, Thailand

DRAFT REPORT OF THE SEMINAR

INTRODUCTION

1. The purpose of the Seminar was to throw light on the problems caused by the rapid growth of cities in Asia and the Far East; and to consider possible approaches to the solution of those problems. Sponsored jointly by the United Nations and by UNESCO, with the co-operation of the International Labour Organisation, it was held at the Headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (Sala Sartitham), Bangkok, Thailand, from 8 to 18 August 1956. A list of the participants is at Annex I.

2. The Government of Thailand kindly provided facilities to the Seminar, and His Excellency Prime Minister Field Marshal P. Pibulsonggram, in his capacity of Minister of Interior, opened the Seminar with an address which stressed the importance of the problems being caused by urbanization. Introductory statements were made by Mr A. Dollinger (Acting Executive Secretary of ECAFE), by Mr J.D.H. Veraluys (representing the Director-General of UNESCO),

/Mr P.S. Narasimhan

Mr P.S. Narasimhan (ILO), and Mr E. Weissmann (UN Bureau of Social Affairs). Police General Luang Chart Trakarnkosol (Thailand), Mr E. Soeparman (Indonesia), Mr Pham -Gia-Hien (Viet-Nam), Dr. W.S. Barlingay (India), Mr Abdul Latif (Pakistan), acted as Chairman for the five items of the agenda, and Professor Philip M. Hauser (United States) of the University of Chicago served as General Rapporteur.

3. It was a Seminar at the expert level and the participants, whether government officials or social scientists, were not required to commit their countries on policy matters. The reason for this was that it had been decided that an introductory and clarifying meeting was needed. The question whether at some future date a more formal conference should be held to draw up recommendations to governments is one of the matters which can be considered in the light of the present report.

4. The range of problems before the seminar can be seen from the agenda set out in Annex II. It will be seen that the work was so organized as to start with an examination of the available data and research findings and to lead into a discussion of possible approaches which policy makers might usefully consider. The documentation which the seminar considered is set out in detail in Annex III and consisted broadly of:

(a) Five field studies prepared for UNESCO by social scientists in Asian cities;

(b) Data and analyses prepared by the Secretariats of ECAFE and the Bureau of Social Affairs, of UNESCO and the ILO, based on material and experience acquired in the region;

(c) A background paper by the General Rapporteur, which had been commissioned by UNESCO, which set the work of the seminar in the framework of world urbanization and clarified the data and concepts in use;

(d) Statements and documentation from participants closely associated, either as adviser or officials, with policy making in the different countries.

5. On the basis of the discussions and findings of the Seminar, a report on its work, which is set out in the pages which follow, was prepared by the General Rapporteur, Professor Hauser, with the assistance of the following

/rapporteurs:

rapporteurs: Messrs. J.H.G. Pierson, G.V. Subba Rao, J.D.N. Versluys, M.B. Desmukh, Pandharinath Prabhu, E.J. Galway, P.S. Narasimhan, N. Widjojo, A. Alagappan, E. Weissmann, A.F.M. Haq, Chi-Yuen Wu, and H.M. Phillips.

6. The conclusions reached by the Seminar, which were approved by it at its concluding session, are given at the end of the report.

7. The present report will be supplemented by a publication of the documentation and proceedings in the form of a book, which will appear next year under the auspices of the UNESCO Research Centre on the social implication of industrialization in Southern Asia.

Summary Report

The city or urban agglomeration is a relatively recent phenomenon. Man has inhabited the earth for some half million to one million years. But even villages or towns did not exist until after the neolithic revolution. It was only some 8 to 10,000 years ago that separate permanent settlements became important forms of human habitation. Both the city and problems of urbanization, then, are relatively new problems with which man has been only recently confronted; and which have emerged because of man's activities in transforming the world in which he lives.

The word "city" is generally identified as both antecedent and consequent of modern western civilization. Actually more people live in large cities in Asia than in Europe and North America. In 1950, out of an estimated total of 886 cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants, Asia had 289, Europe 261, and North America 116. The cities with 100,000 or more throughout the world contained an estimated 314 million inhabitants. Of these 106 million, about two-thirds lived in Asia, 83 million or about one-fourth lived in Europe, and 48 million or about one-seventh lived in North America.

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With the acceleration of the industrial revolution since 1800, while the population of the world increased 2½ times, the population resident in cities of 5 thousand or more persons multiplied about 30 times; the population resident in cities of 100 thousand or more increased about twentyfold.

During the 19th century, the increase in large city population was more rapid in Europe and in North America than in Asia. During the first half of this century, however, the increase in large city population was more rapid in Asia than in Europe or North America. It is the great increase in Asian large city population, a 450 per cent increase during the first half of this century, that has maintained the rapid increase of the world urban population. City population in Europe and in North America has not been increasing as rapidly as in Asia during this century because the population of the more economically developed areas had already become largely urbanized.

/Although

Although Asia has more large cities and more people living in them than Europe or North America, Asia is less urbanized than any of the continents other than Africa. In 1950, about 13 per cent of Asia's population lived in cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants, as compared with 9 per cent in Africa. In contrast, 35 per cent of the population in Europe (excluding the USSR) and 42 per cent of the population in North America (North of the Rio Grande) lived in cities of this size. In Oceania, 47 per cent of the population was urbanized by this criterion. The percentage of other world areas urbanized were as follows: USSR, 31 per cent; South America, 26; Central America and the Caribean, 21 per cent.

The city as a form of economic and social organization is related to the level of technology and economic development. The size and character of population agglomerations, small or large, ranging from villages and towns to cities and metropolitan areas are functions of the economic and social organization of a society, including both agricultural and non-agricultural productivity; the extent of the division of labour, including territorial specialization; transport and communication; and the political and social structure.

Prior to about 3,000 B.C., most population agglomerations were relatively small and are, perhaps, appropriately designated as villages or towns. Agglomerations large enough to merit the term "city" probably did not appear until after this date. Cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants certainly did not exist prior to the Greco-Roman period. The metropolis of a million or more persons appeared only after the industrial revolution.

Gras, in his account of economic history, has perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of the relationship between economic development and settlement or habitation patterns. Using historical materials on ways of making a living and technology on the one hand, and forms of human settlement or community on the other hand, Gras has related the two in a classification

/which intertwines

which interwines both. In his account of the historical development of civilization, 5 stages or periods are differentiated as follows: (1) collectional economy, (2) cultural nomadic economy, (3) the settled village economy, (4) the town economy and (5) the metropolitan economy.

In many of the ECAFE countries, all of these forms of economic organization and human settlement co-exist. Lampard, following Childe's classification, distinguishes 3 phases of city development which are perhaps more relevant to the contemporary scene. These are the pre-industrial, industrial and metropolitan urban agglomerations. The pre-industrial cities, which in the Western world existed up to about 19th century, are best described perhaps as a loose-knit system of food economies with some inter-regional commerce but no marked territorial division of labour. The industrial city was a product of the industrial revolution emerging during the 19th century. It was characterized by marked territorial division of labour, and centripetal development generated by steam power and belt and pulley technology. Metropolitan urban centres are products of 20th century technology. The centripetal force of the steam engine gave way to the centrifugal force of electric power, the automobile and telephone. Morever, differentiation of function and territorial division of labour were intensified; large proportions of the population were drawn to urban centres; but, within the urban centre, population became increasingly decentralized as a result of the impact of a combination of centrifugal forces.

The development of the cities in the West resulted largely from the market mechanism. There was no or little central planning. The play of the market determined the division of labour, territorial specialization, the allocation of resources, the spatial pattern of cities, and ecological interdependence. It is important to stress this fact because it was not necessary for the Western world to understand the matrix of factors which accounted for either economic development or urbanization. The market mechanism operated to produce both economic development and the urbanization of the West without the need for statesmen, businessmen or scholars to understand either the process or the results. It is important to emphasize this fact because in the ECAFE region in which economic development necessarily involves a large amount of central planning, it is necessary to have such knowledge as a basis for determination of policy and its implementation. In fact, the need for knowledge about the relationship between economic development, industrialization, and urbanization constitutes a major justification for this Seminar.

/The development

The development of large cities and urbanization had important social consequences. Changes in technology and economic organization produced great changes in the cultural aspects of Western social institutions including the family, in value systems, and in personal forms of thought and conduct. The sociological and anthropological literature makes clear the nature of these changes. Tonnies differentiation of "community" and "society" has called attention to the dual aspect of human agglomerations. The "community" aspect refers to the interdependence created by the mechanism of competition which produces the spatial and economic base of the human group. The "society" aspect refers to the organization which is achieved through communication through the emergence of consensus and a common culture.[1]

The process of competition is impersonal , unconscious, utilitarian and involves no social contact. The process of communication is a process of social interaction. It is personal, conscious, necessitates social contact and invokes sympathy, reciprocity, appreciation and sentiment.

The pre-industrial agglomeration is in a larger measure "society" rather than "community". The city is in a larger measure "community" than "society". This distinction provides an important insight into the impact of the city on human modes of thought and contact.

"Urbanism as a way of life" has perhaps best been described by the late Prof. Lewis Wirth. In his classic article under this title, Wirth has indicated the way in which such abstract aspects of the city as size, density and heterogeneity of population have influenced the nature, frequency and intensity of social contact, and therefore the nature of personal development and of human nature itself. In the urban environment, the nature of man has been changed by changes in the mechanism and process of social interaction,

/as well as

1/ These concepts are presented as in American usage. The terms "community" and "society" are used in reverse of the literal translation of Tonnies, "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft".

as well as by changes in the culture and social heritage. The "city mentality" described by Park has been characterized by sophistication, objectivity, utilitarianism and rationalism and is, on the one hand, the product of the urban environment and, on the other hand, a major force producing and influencing changes in the social heritage, in economic, social and political institutions and in the urban environment itself.

It is within this framework that the changes in social institutions, including the family and the church, in the social structure, and in value systems, can be understood. In the process of social change produced by the emergence of the city, social and personal disorganisation are significant by-products. Social disorganization is a stage in the process of social change. It is an intermediate stage between social organization and social reorganization. Personal disorganization is viewed by the sociologist as the subjective aspect of social disorganisation. The many personal problems in the city - delinquency, crime, poverty, unemployment, immorality, alcoholism, suicide, neurosis are symptoms of social change manifest in the person. The understanding of problems of social and personal disorganization is an important pre-requisite to the determination of policy and administrative action designed to eliminate or to ameliorate these problems.

The emergence of large cities has also created many physical problems - problems of land use and circulation. The slum, poor housing, and congestion are perhaps the most acute of the physical problems associated with urbanization which call for attention.

In the materials set forth above, an effort has been made briefly to summarize the experience in respect of urbanization of the more economically developed areas in the West. Many of these materials can be quite helpful to countries in the ECAFE region which are attempting economic development through industrialization. Success in industrialization is likely to increase the urbanization of the population. It is not possible, however, to assume that the experience of the West is a safe basis for anticipating problems of urbanization in ECAFE countries.

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There are many reasons to assume that urbanization in Asia may involve quite different patterns of development and inter-relationships with economic development than those observed in the West. These reasons include differences between the situation at the present time, when Asia is attempting to accelerate economic development and especially industrialization, and the situation one or two centuries ago when the European and American nations experienced the industrial revolution.

Among these differences are: basic differences arising from the fact that present urban development in Asia is largely an outgrowth of a century or more of colonialism, and in large measure, reflects the troubled conditions of post-war adjustment and newly won independence; differences in the extent to which central planning and government interventionism, as contrasted with the free market economy, may be expected to operate in Asian economic development; differences in the state of industrial and agricultural technology in the 20th, as contrasted with the 18th and 19th centuries; differences in the ratio of population to resources and the availability of open lands for surplus population emigration; differences in basic outlook and value systems between Asia and the West; and significant differences in the total world situation - economic, social and political, at the present time as contrasted with the 18th and 19th centuries.

Despite the fact that there are apt to be many differences in the patterns of Asian urbanization, as contrasted with those that occurred in the West, the Western experience nevertheless provides some basis for Asian nations to anticipate many social and personal problems arising from the urban environment. It may be anticipated, for example, that the urban environment in Asia as in the West will produce cultural changes which will be reflected in changes in personal thought and conduct. The large family system has already undergone changes in Asian cities. As the process of urbanism continues and Asian cities take on more of the characteristics of Western cities in respect of heterogeneity, frequency and intensity of social contact, changes may be expected in value systems, in religious practices and beliefs, in personal relationships, in social stratification including classes and castes,

/in consumption

in consumption patterns, in education etc. As a by-product of these and many other social changes, it may also be anticipated there will be many social frictions evident in forms of social and personal disorganization. It may be anticipated that in the vortex of social change there will be an increased tendency towards juvenile delinquency and crime, family disorganization, vice, alcoholism, suicide and neurosis. Moreover, it may be anticipated that there will be many physical problems, perhaps compounding the present heritage of congestion, poor housing, slum conditions, traffic problems, problems of providing for adequate facilities for sanitation, recreation and education. There will also be, of course, the even more basic problem of providing for adequate economic development and productivity, so as to enable increasing urban populations to attain higher levels of living and to eliminate the basic problem that confronts most Asian cities today, namely, mass poverty.

The transition of agricultural Asian nations to greater degrees of urbanization will inevitably produce many problems of the type enumerated above. But it must be emphasized that the total impact of the city is far from a negative one. After all, it is the city which has paved the way for the great achievements of Western civilization in technology, in productivity and in levels of living, on the one hand; and, also, in the arts and sciences, in the growth of universities, the development of the sciences, the creation of new art forms and, in general, in the great intellectual, scientific and aesthetic aspects of Western civilization.

Needless to say, the city may be expected to play a similar role in the further development of Asian culture. It is not to be expected that this development will necessarily take the same forms as in the West. What may be anticipated will be further development of the basic elements in present indigenous Asian, intellectual, philosophical and esthetic cultural tracts, in addition to technological and scientific developments.

/1. Countries

Consideration of the problems incident to urbanization may be classified under three heads, namely, Economic, Social and Physical.

ECONOMIC

Basic to the understanding of the economic aspects of the process of urbanization are two propositions.

Economic development, based on the technology of the past as well as the one which presently obtains, results almost invariably in an accentuation of the process of urbanization. Briefly the reasons for this are: economic development implies a change in the occupational structure of the working force towards non-agricultural activities. Non-agriculturism, or industrialization as we may call it, is not as space-oriented as agriculture. When we examine the theories of economic specialization and spatial distribution of economic activities and hence of population, the link between economies of specialization on the one hand and economies of localization becomes very clear. What are usually referred to by economists as external economies could at the same time be looked upon as economies of localization. As much as there is a gain in efficiency due to the expansion of the size of the firm, there is also a similar gain in the juxtaposition of producing units if these are related by what are called economies of industrial linkage. These benefits of localization apply as much to small units of production as to large factories. Thus there are enduring economic benefits if production processes are agglomerated.

/Secondly,

Secondly, more than the development of secondary industry, the growth of tertiary, or residentiary, industry almost always implies the concentration of several servicing activities in urban areas. However, it should be noted that the preponderance of tertiary industries in urban areas of several countries of Asia does not represent the evolution of these economies from a secondary to a tertiary basis - movement identified as progressive in the long run - but signifies the growth of marginal employment and low-productive service industries, especially retail trading and domestic services.

Related to these points is the other proposition that urbanization in almost all countries in the early stages of modern economic development has generally tended to grow at a faster pace than population growth or growth of the economy. The enlargement and growth of the money exchange and commercial economy of pre-industrial societies itself implies a growth in population centres devoted to the processing and servicing activities based on the exchange of production between the interior and the ports and other break-of-bulk points and between the countryside and the towns.

Again, at least two stages can be distinguished in the industrial phase. In early stages, industrialization has generally come to concentrate on the development of consumer goods and light industries. These are more market and labour oriented than raw material or power oriented. As such these industries tend to be attracted to existing urban centres for furthering their growth and specialization. Thus industrialization, oriented towards the development of light and consumer goods industries, tends to

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accentuate the growth of the existing urban centres. In the second phase of industrialization, the development of heavy industries, based on the metal-fuel-raw material complex, tends to get away from the location pattern of the pre-industrial and the initial industrial phase and will generally give rise to the growth of new towns based on raw material resources in the interior. In several countries of Asia all these three or four factors are now simultaneously operative, thus accelerating the process of urbanization.

The fact that urbanization has generally tended to move ahead of economic development has several implications for the Asian economies, especially when these are embarking on programmes of economic and industrial development. It means that, as the process of economic development catches on, the demand for the provision of urban economic and social infrastructure investment grows much more rapidly than the growth of several other sectors. This in town means that demands for less productive projects (in the immediate sense) will be made on the scarce capital resources of these economies right in the early stages of their development. These infrastructure investments come to fruition only as economic development activities reach a tempo such as to utilize these overheads to the fullest extent. Thus these countries face in the early crucial stages of industrialization, that is, when they try to get off dead centre, certain disadvantageous factors influencing the allocation of scarce capital resources. This burden is similar to the so-called demographic burden that several under-developed countries are expected to face in the transitionary stages of economic and industrial development. This demographic burden is caused by the expected widening of the gap between the death rate and the birth rate. The death rate decreases faster than the birth rate and until the eventual equilibrium at a lower level is established, a comparative transitionary burden is imposed on this score.

It is of course possible to skimp on the creation of these economic and social infrastructure investments in the initial stages of industrialization. But this skimping can be done only if a minimum body of such infrastructure facilities already exists, and we know that such a minimum body does not exist in most of the economies of Asia. The infrastructure question clearly has a bearing on whether fresh industrial and economic development projects should be

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located in the existing urban centres or whether it would be better to create them in new townships based on new developments. This is, to some extent, however, an artificial choice because older urban centres are themselves starved of these infrastructure facilities. Any overstraining on this score may be disastrous and will of course in any case result in accentuation of urban slums and squalor and congestion and in the burden on the transport, drainage and other facilities.

It is probably true to say that Asia is over-urbanized in relation to its degree of economic development. At comparable levels of urbanization, the developed countries of today had a correspondingly greater proportion of their labour force engaged in non-agricultural occupations. In that sense, Asia can be said to be relatively over-urbanized. The pace of urbanization, especially in the last decade, has far exceeded the growth rate of economies of Asia.

Several economic and non-economic causes have contributed to this situation of relative over-urbanization. Firstly, on the economic side, there is the push factor. The stagnancy of Asian economic development in the context of a colonial and semi-colonial setting has had the following consequences. The opening up of these economies meant, the penetration of cheap imported manufactured goods from abroad, leading to a steep decline in traditional non-agricultural occupations. Again in the feudal and semi-feudal setting of several Asian countries, the pressure on land resulted in a gradual pauperization of the peasantry and growth of an agricultural labouring class which started looking for alternative employment in cities and towns.

Thus in contrast to the situation in the earlier stages of industrialization of some developed countries of today, the volume of rural-urban migration has become relatively high in countries of Asia and this was of course not strictly dictated by the avenues of industrial and other productive employment opportunities opened up in the urban area.

Though generally the push factor predominated, the pull factor of urban centres also operated; this pull factor is reflected in the limited economic development based largely on a colonial or a semi-colonial pattern. The pull was to the administrative centres port towns and other transport and break-of-bulk points. More generally the pull factor was to the big city resulting

/in what Gras

in what Gras termed the "primate city" with areas of economic dominance. In the recent period, however, economic and industrial development is being accelerated and a new set of towns in the interior is growing up.

The implications of relative over-urbanization of several Asian countries should be carefully analysed. An excessive volume of rural-urban migration and consequent over-urbanization of these countries may not last for long. An overstraining and breakdown of the relief function of cities may bring the process to a halt. Or alternatively an accelerated and more rational pattern of economic development in both urban and rural areas may restore a healthy equilibrium between the two. In the transition, however, urban misery and rural poverty exist side by side with the result that the city can hardly be called "dynamic" as social historians of developed countries generally described the process of urbanization; both unemployment in the urban area and the under-employment in the rural areas reflect the same factor, namely the economic under-development of these countries in relation to the potential human and physical resources at the disposal of these countries. It may sound paradoxical, but in the over-populated agrarian economies of Asia: it appears to be planned and rapid industrialization that can provide the most effective remedy in the long run for urban and rural unemployment.

About the perspectives for the urbanization process two questions can be posed. The first one deals with the long-run problem. Is urbanization a necessary concomitant of industrialization or are there effective economic alternatives for the ordering of economic activities in a de-centralized or at least less concentrated pattern? And what are the technological perspectives for facilitating such alternatives?

In the short run the problems become pressing. The economic burden of the past, namely the slums and squalor, diseases and poverty that currently prevail in several Asian cities, demand immediate attention. Economic remedial measures will have to be improvised if the situation is not to go out of hand. Here the question of utilization of surplus manpower in urban areas becomes relevant.

/Policy considerations

Policy considerations

Economic development policies in relation to types, scale and location of industries as a factor in urbanization trends in ECAFE countries were analysed in a paper prepared by ECAFE. Until the war, economic development in ECAFE countries was to a considerable extent a function of competition which regulated the allocation of resources. In the case of the colonial countries, however, economic development was largely oriented to the requirements of the imperial system. Industries in some cases have been modelled on the western pattern which emphasized labour saving machinery and augmented the problem of full utilization of the abundantly available manpower. Advanced techniques and equipment reduced costs but the loss of employment in traditional industries and villages and towns without alternative opportunities was considerable. The growth of factory industries in cities had generally not evoked the right responses in traditional industries - responses leading to rationalization, use of better techniques, improved equipment, organization, standardization, training, etc. and so had resulted in the steady decline of the comparative power of traditional industries. Generally, industry had settled wherever it has been profitable; sometimes at conflict with the interests of social welfare. The distribution of industries has been uneven and generally there has been a move towards cities. The pattern of industrialization and urbanization is acquiring a new direction as a result of post-war economic development plans.

A study of the investment pattern in the public sector in the ECAFE countries shows how the priority to strengthen the production base calls for large investments in basic overheads and in heavy industries leaving little for investment in a wide range of light industries, which have to be developed on a decentralized basis. The increased demand for consumer goods that is induced by investment in irrigation, power, transport, construction, industrial and other projects under the various development programmes has to be necessarily met by using relatively labour-intensive methods of production. The weight of employment considerations in the region is revealed by the current plans for industrial

/development.

development. Development of large industry appears to be a move for its supporting and supplementary character to small industry, i.e. the setting-up of central production plants serving as common facilities and stimulating small industries for essential needs. The move to develop a decentralized economy also gathers strength from the point of view of rational distribution of industry to utilize natural and human resources effectively, helping to save and reduce outlay for the transport system. Building up a decentralized industrial society does not necessarily mean acceptance of an inferior technology. It may, however, be necessary to modify or regulate the pace of application of modern techniques in those spheres where their uncontrolled adoption may cause more harm than good.

Among the questions for which answers should be found are the following. Will new industrial townships be wasteful or should development be more on existing centres? What sort of regional planning is necessary to service a group of urban centres in the area? What are the principal policy measures that should be undertaken to strengthen small industries that are to be developed on a decentralized basis?

Planners are confronted with the problem of choice of location and types of industrial development in the context of urbanization. It has been noted that industry had settled down in many Asian countries wherever it was profitable even though conflicts with interests of social welfare have developed. This creates a policy issue which requires much attention.

Another matter of which the planners are aware, is that recognition must be given to the dangers of the growth of giant cities. No serious steps as such however have been taken to arrest this development except for some legislation of varying effectiveness. At present the public investment pattern in the countries of the region shows that considerable priority has been given to develop a more appropriate infra-structure for the economy, which calls for heavy investments in economic overheads and heavy industries.

/Consideration is

Consideration is also being given to the creation of employment opportunities through the development of industries with low capital/labour ratios. Generally speaking, it can be said that countries in this region have in one form or other tried to stimulate the process of decentralization of industrial development. Some additional questions that require consideration are: what industrial patterns exist in countries of the region and what industrial patterns are considered as desirable in the economic programmes of these countries? To what extent are these patterns considered as efforts to stimulate decentralized industrial development? To what extent are the desirable industrial patterns in the economic programmes of the several countries in the region based on economic considerations and to what extent are they based on social desirability? To what extent are the new urban industrial townships created as a result of the establishment of large industries in rural areas, considered as socially desirable?

Attention was drawn on the difference between non-economists, who mostly consider social welfare as an end in itself in this stage of economic development, and economic planners and policy makers who consider labour as a means to reach higher productivity which is a prerequisite to a higher level of living. The problem of creating employment opportunities without retarding technological progress requires serious consideration. Consideration of employment opportunities is only one of the factors which should be taken into account in development programmes. Development in the long run must not to be hampered. Economising the use of capital and maximising the use of labour are very desirable, but in many cases the use of the latest technique of production is necessary, as for example in steel-mills and aluminium-plants. Overemphasis on labour intensive techniques of production may slow down the introduction of better equipment and methods of production in the future.

/Furthermore

Furthermore it is appropriate to discuss what tools are to be used to carry out policies? What machinery exists to implement development policies? To what extent are city planning and overall planning on the regional and national level dovetailed? How far would a licensing system help to achieve proper location of industries? In considering the tools to implement a given industrial pattern, emphasis should not only be given to physical planning implemented by legislation. Other policies also have a direct impact on the locational pattern of industries, such as tax policy, public expenditure policy, tariff policy and wage policy. It is necessary to discuss the pattern of the infrastructure laid down in government programmes because, in the long run, policies that determine the type, scale and location of economic overhead will be largely responsible for the pattern of industrial development and the process of urbanization.

In general, policy determination must aim at obtaining balance in industrial development as between employment opportunities and technology to assure maximum product per head. Choice must be made also in the allocation of resources for production and consumption. Policy makers are faced with quite crucial decisions with relatively great risks involved, in contrast with developments in the western countries where risks were widely dispersed in the play of the market mechanism.

Much is to be gained by study by ECAFE nations of practices in the various countries in the region. In Pakistan, for example, the government directly influences the location and types of industries through a comprehensive licensing system. In Indonesia and in other countries, efforts are being made to stimulate development of cottage industries and small industries. In the Philippines, interesting experiments are underway to effect standardization and quality control in the products of small industries. In efforts to decentralize industrial development, standardization techniques, co-operative procurement of raw materials, adequate provision for credit, increased marketing and research opportunities are among the types of activities which are being explored by various governments.

/The first

The first of these was that in most ECAFE countries, towns had expanded faster and the exodus from the rural areas to the towns had been larger than warranted by the growth of economic opportunities in towns. Most of the workers who drifted into towns found jobs only in casual employment, i.e. service occupations and trades such as peddlers, rickshaw-pullers, domestic servants, bootblacks, etc. Thus, unlike the situation in the more advanced countries, in the ECAFE region the large proportion of workers engaged in "tertiary" occupations in towns was an index not of economic progress but of stagnation. Secondly, whatever the future pattern of economic progress may be, there was little question that to reduce the excessive pressure on land, there had to be a steady expansion in the manufacturing industries. Not all the new and expanding industries need be located in the big towns. There is in fact a good case for encouraging the growth not of a few giant cities, but of a number of medium-size towns scattered throughout the countries and serving the surrounding rural areas. But whatever the degree of decentralization aimed at in the location of industries, a measure of urbanization was inevitable. This gives rise to the problem of adopting the rural labour flowing into the towns both from the psychological and the technical points of view to the new methods of production in modern industrial establishments using modern techniques and producing for the market.

It is characteristic of workers abruptly transplanted from rural to urban areas, particularly if the transition is from a more or less primitive subsistence economy to a technologically more advanced exchange economy, that they lack stability, that they have no training for or experience of industrial work and that their productivity is very low. These characteristics, moreover, tend to persist. With lack in stability and qualification for industrial work, the rural in-migrants are difficult to assimilate. Failure to assimilate them means that they continue to lack stability and industrial qualifications. A major problem of labour policy relates to the development of means through which to break this vicious circle.

/An essential

An essential requirement for economic development is the conversion of this untrained and unorganized man-power into an adequately skilled and diversified labour force. It is necessary to help the in-migrant to adapt to the requirements of urban and industrial life, both to contribute to, and to take advantage of, the scope for social and economic development which industrialization can provide. Until such adaptation takes place, economic development is hampered by large labour turn-over, high absenteeism and a lack of even rudimentary skill.

The problem of the in-migrant worker is further aggravated by the fact that he is often separated from his family for long periods, a factor which contributes to his instability and to his return from time to time to his native village. When he is joined by his family, they contribute both to the problem of adjustment in the urban environment and tend to become themselves the source of additional labour problems. The employment of women and children in cities creates many problems requiring regulation and controls to prevent abuse of female and child labour and to provide suitable conditions of work.

Policies designed to deal with the many labour problems arising from industrialization and urbanization in Asia are set forth in the conclusions at the end of this summary report. Special attention is given in the conclusions to the problem of increasing productivity which is a prerequisite to the advancement of levels of living.

Social

Consideration was given to the human and social aspects of urbanization in Asia. The urban environment represents not only changes in technology and a new form of economic organization but, also, a new matrix for the socialization of the person, and for social change in culture, in social institutions and various modes of behaviour and thought.

It was noted that urbanization is followed by changes in religious practices, by the disintegration of the informal social controls, by changes in traditional arts and crafts and forms of traditional enjoyment. Moreover, special note was taken of the effect of urbanization upon the basic social unit, the family, and of problems of personal disorganization, especially juvenile delinquency and crime. Consideration was given to the problems of labour, instability, lack of skill, and problems of productivity.

The examination of the social aspects of urbanization included also some consideration of alternatives to over-rapid urbanization.

Human and social aspects of urbanization in Asia: the social implications of industrialization and urbanization

Note was made of the UNESCO study "The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization" with special reference to the human aspects of immigration to, and life in, urban area in Asia.

When migrating to the city a villager enters a new society. From a homogeneous - though by no means always friendly - society, he is faced with an incomprehensible heterogeneity. It is the sort of experience the European may have when coming for the first time to an Asian city, only far more baffling. For the Western, capitalistic aspects of an individualistic, money making society which the European knows is the prevalent factor in the "dualistic" city, whereas the "Eastern", traditional aspect, although represented by a large majority of the inhabitants, is not very clearly visible, certainly not at first sight.

/In all

In all the five studies prepared for UNESCO, we find the new-comer lives for months with his fellow villager, and perhaps longer, especially when the latter is a relative. We do not know very much about the process of accommodation, but gradually he knows a small sector of city life, his immediate surroundings, the place where he works, the people he meets every day. It will depend on his individual adaptive capacity how soon he will feel "at home", but there comes a time when he will meet another new-comer, and will realize how much he already knows as compared to the other man.

What has happened to him meanwhile? He has accustomed himself to a complete money economy; to a new kind of work; to working hours governed by the clock instead of by nature; even to the terror of night shifts; to a large number of impersonal human contacts; to different food and other meal hours; to continuous noise either of the factory, or of the traffic, or of the people living in the same crowded room. And to many more things. But most important, perhaps, is his total dependence on money which formerly played a minor role as he was living in largely a subsistence economy. This makes it of such a crucial importance to the migrant to find work, and it makes him realize the obvious sequence: no work - no money - no food. It may seem obvious, but for a very large number of village people, sheltered in the joint family, it is not. But it is certainly clear that the greatest anxiety of each migrant is to find work.

/The villager

The villager, now accustomed to city life, may take regularly a cup of tea or a drink and have learned to smoke a cigarette instead of the traditional hookah[1] or krètèk[2] and to enjoy the cinema. But he will miss his family and the gossip of his village and his quiet work in the fields. And he is starting to build up an idealized village, that, for years to come, will probably be the image in his mind of a far from ideal place which he had to leave because of sheer poverty and distress.

If asked if he likes his new way of life, he will most probably emphatically deny it, pointing at the bad housing conditions and the unhealthy surroundings, adding however, that he cannot go back. Meanwhile, he may have spent a couple of years in the city and will certainly have visited his village at least once every year; if he left his family behind he will probably have found some place where to live - inferior, to be sure, to his old place, but enabling him at least to let his family join him. In fact, he has become a city dweller and will probably stay so. However, he still is convinced that he will go back to his village, next year or so, wherever he has saved enough money to buy some land. But his children are going to school, and the schools here are really better than back home, so he stays on. And then, his sons start earning and the family income grows to much that it would be a pity to go back just now. Most probably he will never go back, or, perhaps, when he has become too old to work in the factory and retires to his village to supervise the cultivation by a tenant of the small plot of land that he has been able to buy. But his children have become real city folks. And the returned migrant may become a spearhead of innovations in his village, as it was reported from Java particularly with respect to ex-service men.

This might be the picture of a successful migration as described in some of the five studies recently published by UNESCO. It is not the picture of the type of migrant described in the Delhi study, nor does it render the situation of the temporary migrant who comes to Bangkok for some months only.

/How far

1/ Waterpipe (Pakistan and North India).
2/ Cigarette wrapped in maize leaf (Java).

How far does the city affect the migrant's beliefs and habits? It is clear that his working habits have changed very much, his ideas of time is different now; he has learned to the quite novel distinction between "work" and "leisure"; he is accustomed to a rigid discipline of work although he may not like it; he wears different cloths, has acquainted himself with the use of a number of things which he did not know before, particularly food and beverages and Western medicine (although he will not forget his native talisman altogether), and he cannot help finding his village people rather old-fashioned and backward, a little coarse and ridiculous actually (but the village people laugh at his "refined" speech and manners); his way of thinking is "modern" now and he says that he is broad-minded as regards matters of caste or other social differentiations. Nevertheless, he will see to it that his daughter marries a young man of no inferior caste than his own. In fact, in many cases we may find that his professed attitudes and his actual behaviour do not quite coincide. Often he will have climbed a few ranks on the social ladder, and may rationalize his actually conservative behaviour from that angle.

From the Dacca and the Bangkok study it became clear that his religious duties were carried out faithfully, perhaps more so in the city than in the village. The social control in the village does not seem to be stronger as regards this matter, than that of the "Prayer Committees" operating in the Dacca factories. In Bangkok we find that the beautiful temples greatly appeal to the migrants and from Bombay it is reported that, although there may be a shift in the groups of practising and non-practising Hindus, the total number of those who follow religious practices has not decreased. In the Delhi study where a very unfavourable economic situation is described which prevents the larger part of the migrants to find a more or less permanent job, a direct correlation between economic distress, social disintegration and loss of religious practices came clearly out of the study. -- The author of the Djakarta study also had the impression that religion did not suffer.

/When the

When the migration succeeds it is found that new social connections are formed, thus replacing the organic links of the village community. This point is especially stressed in Mr Heeren's paper (URD/8) where he says that "social control in the city does not differ much from that in the rural ones". In general, his description of Djakarta city life gives the impression not of life in a city but in an agglomeration of villages, each with its own character, each also physically showing far more the village features than the city aspect. The kampongs in Djakarta with their trees and flowers are certainly more friendly places than the slums of Bombay or Calcutta although it cannot be denied that there are slums in Djakarta as well. However, the kampongs as described by Heeren do not form the heart of the city. That is the area of the Chinese shop keepers and Western business, and here is no space for trees or flowers. But as the rural migrant will have little contact with these groups, they will not affect his way of thinking.

Therefore, it seems certain that the Djakarta pattern is extremely helpful to the harmonious integration of migrants as the difference between village and city is mostly material, little spiritual. Moreover, a relatively small part of them were farmers, and some of them came from other towns. The societies for mutual aid, money saving etc. also certainly help to bring about a feeling of belonging which may be looked for in vain in other cities. It is probably a typical Javanese characteristic, as it was found that a number of such societies had also been formed in Makassar where their purpose was that of a funeral fund, sometimes combined with dramatical performances.

Similar efforts to social cohesion are reported in the Dacca study where the Prayer Committees seem to exercice a strong social control, whereas in Bangkok only informal groups seem to exist. Nevertheless, such groups are extremely important, and the individual can rely upon his group, may borrow money without interest and find, in general, support in the

/ struggle

struggle for life. Such groups are not mentioned in the Bombay report, but it stresses the importance of the villager's first contact man in the city. Both studies emphasize the need for expenditure on tobacco, tea, drinks and recreation as a means to overcome strains. One of the sailor drivers in Bangkok remarks that he does not have all this when he is back home, but does not seem to miss it very much. One might believe that this typical "city consumption" is connected with a certain lack of steadiness in social relationship.

The less the social cohesion is, the more easily the individual is induced to doing things which he would not have done in his normal social surroundings. However, this aspect of urbanization will be discussed later.

When we discussed some forms of self-help and social cohesion, it was already pointed out that this seemed to be most strongly developed in Djakarta. It is understandable, therefore, that Mr Heeren's paper also most clearly points to typical features of city organizations which have little to do with the officially elected municipal council. The neighbourhood organization covering a part of a kampong was always useful to watch against thieves and fire, and it provided a certain unit which facilitated the general administration. However, it could not easily be called a unit of self-government. But it is interesting to note that membership of this organization has now become compulsory and that it also serves as an intermediary between the lurah, the lowest city official, and the population. No such forms of city organization are mentioned in respect of the other cities here discussed, although they might well exist.

As regards the migrants from the higher social strata, it was remarked that their situation was really different. In the first place the white collar worker who finds no suitable place in the village will not experience the same hospitality in the city as the uneducated labourer will

/ receive.

receive. For him the city is more like the Western type: he does not know the man of the flat next doors, and he does not make an effort to get acquainted. But once he is established in the city it may affect him more profoundly. He will more intensively feel the impact of the city as the meeting place of different cultures and religions, and he will easily develop attitude of relativism. This explains the decline in interest in religion as reported by the representatives from India and Pakistan as regards the educated classes where the break-up of the joint family progresses quickly and traditions of centuries are given up by the younger generation. But this "city influence" and its effect of "sophistication" is not very strong on the lower strata of society in Asian cities as their cross-cultural contacts are very limited.

However, the city also brings about new movements which may well have a religious character, as they may also be of a general cultural nature. The revival of Buddhism in Japanese cities can be quoted in this context. This creative element in city life - although it is not always certain whether it is a new fashion or a serious cultural renewal - should always be remembered, even if one has to admit that the city is also the only place where mob rule and dictatorship can develop. As it was put by one of the participants, the city attracts both the best and the worst in the country; there is little place in the village for either the big cheater or the great genius.

However, the migrants to cities in Asia generally are neither cheaters nor geniuses. Moreover, they are only seldom attracted to the city, although it may happen, as was reported from Thailand, that demobilized soldiers prefer town life whose amenities they have learnt to prefer to the arduous tasks of the farmer. But the large majority of the migrants are pushed to the city by poverty in the village, lack of land, or debts. They do not go to the city because they think it an attractive place.

/ In conclusion

In conclusion [illegible] although the strain on the individual labourer who comes alone from the countryside to the city is certainly heavy, there are either informal groups or more or less institutionalized organizations where he can find the social connections which can replace the organic social structure of his village. It is not probable that the factory worker will have intensive contacts with the more sophisticated, Westernized part of the population, and his beliefs and religious thinking will therefore mostly not change fundamentally. It is practically certain that his first contact in the city will be a kinsmen or some fellow villager who will make it easier for him to find his way in the city. After the first overwhelming impressions of city life and factory noise he may find out that not everything and everybody in hostile, although it will take him a long time to feel at home. However, individual experience will vary greatly, and the cities have each their special features which makes it hard to draw general conclusions. But it is certain that very much will depend on the question whether or not he succeeds in securing a regular income, far more than in the village.

Change in traditional arts and crafts and forms of cultural enjoyment

It was pointed out that traditional art was utilitarian and that art for its own sake did not exist. The words "artisan" and "artist" still show the original situation when tools and ustensils were made by a craftman who often was an artist. In some places this same combination is still to be found, e.g. weavers of beautifully coloured though coarse Timor cloth (Indonesia), or of the finest silk sarees in Banaras (India).

What is the influence of modern articles mechanically produced in masses on those hand made articles? In many cases it is found that the mass produced articles become very popular, not only because they are cheap, but also because of the glamourous colours and smooth finish. Those are features which in many cases cannot be achieved by indigenous techniques, and are therefore attractive. It is interesting to note that the weavers in Timor like to add a few machine made trends of hard green or purple yarn to their hand spun and hand woven cloths the yarn of which is normally coloured by themselves with dyes made out of certain roots and leaves. This may not seem an improvement to the Western observer who admires the beautiful pattern and wonderful colour combination of the cloth made with purely indigenous material.

When two cultures come into contact some acculturation always takes place. It will depend on their relative strength what the result will be. If the new culture is strong the old one may seem to disappear altogether although some trends of the original culture will practically always be visible. It is also possible that the new culture has only very little impact and is influenced by the original culture. Or these may be an appreciable mutual influences. An interesting remark of the last situation may be found in Bali (Indonesia) where the Balinese sculptors and painters have adopted features of modern Western art whereas they, in their turn, had a strong influence on the Western artists living in Bali.

When we speak of acculturation we usually think of Western influence on Eastern culture. However, it is very probable that there will be an increasing influence of one Asian culture affecting another. This is a new development, as the cultural contacts used to be nearly exclusively with Western countries.

A conscious effort to a blending of cultures was made by Tagore in the first part of this century. Eastern and Western motives were used together and it was tried to attain a higher unity by doing so. Even now a number of Indian painters make such an endeavour. The problem really is to express themselves and their admiration for Indian culture at the same time.

/For Asian

For Asian painters the problem is harder than the other artists, because they have been trained mostly in a Western culture which may easily result in a feeling of standing between two cultures and lack of belonging.

It is understandable that in a period of acculturation confusion of values will easily occur. But it is most probable that really strong cultural values, although perhaps influenced by foreign culture, will largely remain the same. The Indian delegate mentioned the strong position of his culture which had not been deeply affected by foreign influences. Indian music and dancing are highly developed and warmly appreciated by the Indian public. In Viet-Nam the position both of the traditional and the so-called reformed music is also very strong. The same holds true for Indonesia although these music and dance performances as well as those of the wajang[1] have become much shorter. The well-known Javanese batiks regularly show new patterns and adopt themselves to changes in taste.

A special place is taken by Ayurvedic and Unani medicine in the Indian sub-continent. Although Western medicine has replaced these forms of medicine, at least to a large extent in towns and cities, they are still very vital in the country side. In fact, homeopathy was known in India long before Hahnemouni propagated it in the West.

It is understandable that most governments try to preserve traditional arts and, at the same time, to propagate the use of articles produced by handicrafts. Diversity of cultures is one of the riches of mankind, and it would be a gloomyprospect if we had to live in a one-culture world. However, if the traditional arts and crafts have no force to maintain themselves, they cannot be saved either by government help. On the other hand, it has been proved in many cases that a craft which seemed doomed could be revitalized by suitable assistance and propaganda. The post-war boom in Thai silk which has now a good export market to the United States of America, is a clear example. Government help in the sales of handicraft products has also been

/valuable for

1/ There are different kinds of wajang; the three most important ones are the wajang kulit (puppet theatre with leather puppets whose shadows play on a screen), wajang golèk (puppet theatre) and wajang wong (drama in which actors perform).

valuable for the maintenance of a group of craftsmen who would otherwise have been out of work. Nevertheless, it seems that handicrafts will only have a lasting place in the economy of a country when they produce really well made, artistic products with which the machine cannot compete.

The influence of the city is probably most vividly visible in the mass recreation, especially the cinema. It was reported from practically all the countries of Asia that the cinema enjoyed an even increasing popularity. But it was also generally recognized that the films shown left very much to be desired. Imported films were generally of a low cultural level, but the indigenous films were no better. India with a very important production of films (third in the world) and exporting films to a number of countries in Asia, has not yet succeeded in reaching a culturally acceptable level. The same complaint came from Japan where foreign films were only popular in the towns and not in the country side where exclusively Japanese films were shown.

The position of the indigenous arts serving mass recreation is different, as music and drama are generally of a better level than films, but deterioration of music, especially film music, is also noted.

New forms of recreation like sports, particularly football, have become very popular in various Asian countries. But indigenous sports can still hold their own.

Relatively novel forms of recreation like visiting museums and public libraries are still largely limited to the cities, although there are a number of village reading rooms and a few library services which reach remote villages by sending books in iron trunks from one place to another. There is a very great demand for reading matter. The example of the Delhi Public Library, mentioned in paper URB/4 shows that there is a nearly unlimited hunger for books. And it is interesting to note that museums which do not charge on admission fee can always be sure of numerous visitors. This ought to bring about some change in the organization of museums which are still largely catering for the intellectural elite. By giving more and more simple explanations in the vernaculum it should be tried to bring the objects shown nearer to the public.

It is a general trend it may be expected that the countries of Asia will have to follow the example of the West, namely, more and more commercialized recreation, with a decrease in participants and an increase in spectators.

/ Effects

Effects of urbanization upon family life and the status of different family members

The sheer magnitude of the populations undergoing rapid industrialization and urbanization multiplies and complicates the problems of the family. There are of course local differences in these problems even within the same country like India because of variations in the environmental context.

It is extremely difficult to obtain factual or statistical data on the subject apart from a very limited number of local studies based on impressions of observers. In the two largest countries of Asia, namely China and India, the prevailing family is an extended or joint one encompassing a number of successive generations and with a strong, generally patriarchal, head. But in Indonesia and Thailand there was a smaller family unit.

Socially, the welfare of the aged and the handicapped, the care of the sick, the performance of certain religious rites, and educational functions have been a family responsibility. The family is also a productive unit for the support of all its members; but with the loss of this fundamental economic function other roles of the family are also affected. Married couples established the smaller independent units and the husband and the wife may live far away from their respective parents' original homes. Parents, parents-in-law, unmarried and widowed brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts, etc. tend to be excluded more and more from the family household. Added to this, is the housing problem in the towns which limits the number of the family members who can live together.

Education, entertainment and the many emotional satisfactions available in a large well-knit family have to be provided for by outside associations. And this is an extremely difficult task.

Urban life and industrial occupation may have its own attractive features. On the other hand, the repelling features of the village are poverty and the pressure of population on the land. Therefore migration to towns is largely a flight from rural poverty. However, the urbanized villagers have in their hearts a great love for their village places and environment and therefore seek every opportunity and excuse to run back to their villages in between periods of occupation and earning in the city. This is particularly so when most of the migrants leave their wives and children in the villages. But this kind of constant flux of workers between towns and villages constitutes a tremendous handicap in industrial progress.

/However,

However, this flux helps to spread knowledge of urban life and modern ways to the rural population. It also keeps the urban migrant closely in touch with the rural ways and ideas and to that extent he merely becomes a completely urbanized individual.

Because of the fact that in urbanization the principal bread-winner of the family has to live away from his family, the very concept of the "family" has undergone changes. This situation is certainly disruptive of family life. The wife and children are deprived of those forms of emotional security that a husband and a father can provide. However, the wife is the most affected person, whereas the children are not so much affected. Usually they draw upon the sympathy and affection of the mother, the grand-parents and almost all other elderly members of the family. One of the most disruptive consequences of separation between the husband and the wife is the instability of the urban family owing to the number of deserted mothers and abandoned children.

Urbanization involves importation from abroad of new ideas, such as, the rights of women, individualism, "modernism" etc. which also tend to undermine the close unity and strength of the traditional family.

However, there are several situations where migration of the bread-winner from the village to the city has also added to the status therefore the strength of the family. It is usual to find the individual migrant being deeply attached to the family members and the home in the village, sending most of his earnings back to the village home to build up a house for the family, buy lands there, and so forth.

/ When the

When the entire conjugal family, that is the husband, wife and children move to the town, all of them face the consequences of the impact of urbanization directly. These consequences will depend upon the physical, environmental and other conditions in their respective locations in the town.

It is generally accepted that urbanization has improved the status of women, reduced the despotism of the family head and brought the husband and wife closer than before. However, the urban wife has lost the specific status and the functions, such as they were in the rural tradition.

In the city there are a large number of new influences: the schools, the city-bred contemporaries, the media of mass information, the movies, the stage, the variety of recreational occupations including gang formations, etc. Some of these tend to produce friction in parent-child relationship. It must be remembered that though the father is technically now closer to the children, he works by the clock and is outside the home for the major part of the day, and the children are mostly left to themselves during the period. Sometimes the mother also works and this makes the situation worse.

Separation and divorce are more likely in an urban setting.

Psychologically, death has the most shocking effect, sometimes traumatic, on city children because it often means that their only support in the world is gone. It must be said, however, that in the East the village is becoming increasingly urbanized and the towns have many rural features.

/ Urbanized

Urbanized conditions give rise to severe social and particularly mental problems of maladjustment and to meet these problems, the city has given rise to certain institutions to provide for physical facilities and social services. However, the expansion of the town is unplanned and the rate of expansion is much faster than these facilities and services can be provided. There is therefore great need for planning of cities - planning the physical conditions of the towns, industries, their even spread in different towns, the suburbs and their development, housing arrangements, location of social services in different parts of the city, and so forth.

Planning is also required to take care of unemployment, sickness, old-age, widowhood and other disabilities.

23) The above includes a number of economic, social, as well as psychological factors. In addition, there are various psychological satisfactions and rewards connected with the family celebrations of religious ceremonies and rituals such as birth, marriages, festivies and funerals. Also the question of recreation, use of leisure time and communication is important.

To these points emerging from the documentation, the following points were considered by the Seminar:

1) The question of child labour is assuming great significance. It has been suggested that after all exploiting child labour in the city is only a continuation of the exploitation of child labour in the village agricultural farm. But there was really a great difference in the two. In the latter case, the child worked on the farm of the family and its efforts were directly connected with its own living; and the fruit of the effort, the produce, was directly useable by the family. Also, the work did not go by the clock. There was some kind of convenience of each worker which could be taken into account for some kind of adjustment. There were no rigid rules of attendance at work, leave, wage-cut, and so forth. On the contrary, in the city the child's work was characterised by considerable impersonality. He was bound by the rigid rules of hours of work, leave and so forth. He was never concerned with the production itself. He only earned money which was expected to help him in buying the goods and services required by him.

2) The question of the loss of traditional forms of social control through the family has its own ramifications. Unless other forms of social control are properly devised as substitutes there will be problems of vagrancy, delinquency and a host of others.

3) In some cases a new pattern of family is emerging in some of the Asiatic countries. It may be called the "industrialist family". A family owns a large number of industrial concerns. These are distributed to different members of the family on semi-individual ownership basis. That is, the largest number of shares are owned in each of these industries by one or the other member of the family. This prevents the emergence of capable and sound industrial leadership, and in its turn results in lack of progress of industrialization.

/4) It is

4) It is usual to find among ruralites a certain spirit of contentedness. But the cities engender a keen spirit of competition. It is but natural that such a spirit of competion will lead to constant stresses and strains and anxiety in the city dwellers.

5) Some of the cherished aspects of ruralites' value system have been rudely shaken by urbanization. For example, generally in Asiatic countries the profession of teaching and learning have been placed at extremely high premium. The wealthiest man in India in a village would rise up in honour of a teacher to welcome him even though this teacher is invariably the poorest in the locality. Our views in this connection have gone topsy turvey owing to the influence of urbanization.

6) Similarly the question of respect to age. Since everything is measured in terms of capacity to earn, even the elderly people who are nearest of kin, like the parents, may lose the respect and attention of the younger generation. The elders who are incapable of earning may be looked upon as burden on the family's economic resources.

Materials presented by participants from ECAFE nations indicated that many changes were taking place in the large family system. Social changes a rising from the urban environment were also producing various legal changes particularly in respect of status of women, property rights and the like. There was also increasing recognition in ECAFE nations of the need to provide various social welfare services to take the place of traditional family functions.

Among the aspects of family patterns and functions affected by the urban environment are changes in nutrition and in home economics, generally. Although little relevant data are available on the dietary changes which follow urbanization, it seems clear that a significant rise in per capita income normally means an increase in food consumption; in particular, a greater consumption of food of high nutritive value such as animal products,

/fruits,

fruits, vegetables. Not all changes are for the better however. In some cases, traditional dietary habits are replaced by more "sophisticated" diets which are defective in various respects. Widespread education in respect to adequate and effective diets is generally needed, particularly when urbanization tends to break down traditional dietary habits. As a preliminary to such education, further research into the problem including surveys of dietary habits and changes is needed.

The problems of diet are but one of the many problems in respect to the changing family patterns and behaviour of interest to home economists. Additional research is needed to assist families in the changing urban situation, in matters relating to such problems as management of their income; planning relevant expenditures for housing, food, clothing, education, savings, etc; and avoiding economic insecurity, often created by instalment buying and spending beyond their incomes. Changes in consumption and expenditure patterns in the migration from rural areas to the city involve many difficult problems of adjustment. The Food and Agriculture Organization is among the agencies concerned with these problems and is in a position to provide professional and technical assistance.

Problems of crime and juvenile deliquency

There was general concensus that adult crime and especially juvenile deliquency were intimately associated with the process of urbanization and that a number of countries of the region had already become seriously concerned at the proportions of the problem. In some instances, as pointed out by the representative of Indonesia in respect of his own country, the problem is not yet acute but certainly signs of potential difficulty have appeared already.

/ The extent

The extent to which criminality results directly from the urbanization process was discussed and there was a general agreement that while a number of factors contributed to the genesis of criminal behaviours, the unsettling nature of urbanization contributed heavily to those social conditions and patterns of behaviour which produced crime and delinquency. At the same time, it was emphasized, especially by the delegate of India, that certain types of crime, or at least certain kinds of social abuse closely akin to crime, were being outlawed under the impact of the urbanization process.

The seminar recognized that the rural migrant on entering the urban life left behind him family influences and controls for which he could find no counterpart in urban life. He is, moreover, faced with new and often conflicting sets of values many of which are not in harmony with his rural background. He is also exposed to material advantages which are out of his reach. Out of this bewilderment, frustration and lack of guidance, the individual man acquires false values leading to crime and delinquency.

In the first wave of migration from the rural areas to the city, there is a preponderence of unattached males. This preponderance of unattached males contributes directly to the problem of prostitution which is a serious one in the large urban areas of Asia. Subsequent migrations are characterized by the preponderance of women and children. This does not, however, have the effect, as might be supposed, of re-establishing family life, partly because the time gap interferes with the established patterns, partly because the women must seek employment outside the home in order to supplement the family's marginal income and partly because the parents are not able to provide the guidance and supervision of the children which was possible in the simpler village societies where activities were centred around family agricultural activities and where members of the extended family could be called upon to assist in the up-bringing of the children.

/The economic

The economic position of the newly arrived rural migrant is a disadvantaged one. Sizeable migrations produce a glut on the employment market and the recently arrived migrant generally does not have the kind of occupational skill needed in the urban centre. He is generally restricted to casual labour which is poorly paid and offers little or no security. He generally must accept the least desirable housing and occupies the lowest place in urban society with respect to goods and services. The types of occupation available to women very often expose them to moral hazard; moreover, prostitution is a relatively lucrative source of income and is, therefore, tempting. The children must also work and either compete in the labour market against adults or take borderline jobs which expose them to corruption.

In addition, the rural migrant arriving in the city enters a culture which reflects certain established criminal patterns. He is little qualified to cope with them. Not only is he victimized but children especially are exploited and, in fact, recruited for begging, stealing, especially pick-pocketing, and above all prostitution.

It was brought out in the seminar that the sudden shift of population from rural areas to urban centres did not of itself necessarily produce crim nor could the industrialization process, per se, be regarded as a direct causative factor. What was critical, however, was the fact that social patterns which generally characterize urbanization and industrialization, namely, great shifts in social standards, break-down of traditional controls and lack of recognized authority contributed to crime. It was pointed out, particularly by the delegate of France, that parental neglect appeared to be a principal cause in juvenile delinquency. Parental neglect might take place under any circumstances; under the impact of urbanization, however, parental neglect was particularly prevalent.

Rural areas were reported to be essentially free from crime. Nevertheless, with the impact of the urban culture upon rural areas themselves there was a probability that criminality might extend to these areas as well. In contrast, it was apparent that in some of the large urban centers of Asia, significant segments of the population remained almost isolated from the urban culture and were thus more or less impervious to disorganizing factors of urban living. This, it was not correct to assume that the villagers had already made a sucessful transition to urban living on the basis of mere physical residence there for a number of years. In fact, it might be said that, from a sociological point of view,

/ they continue

they continue to live in rural communities within the metropolitan centre. The pressing question was, therefore, what might be the impact when the urban culture truly permeated their lives.

The question was raised whether Asian countries must be resigned to accept an inevitable high rate of criminality as the price to be paid for urbanization. This has been characteristic of urban development in the western countries. Must it be repeated in Asian countries undergoing rapid economic development accompanied by social change? On this, there was divergence of opinion. One contention was that social breakdown and social conflict with accompanying higher crime rates was inevitable and that countries must be ready to provide extensive programmes of social protection and social rehabilitation for offenders, including probation, juvenile courts, modern adult and juvenile institutions and the like. It was further suggested that these services might be thought of as being the urban equivalent of the social sanctions which provided the necessary control in rural settings.

On the other hand, the question was raised whether certain factors characteristic of Asian countries today might not contribute significantly to bridging the gap from rural life to a successful urban adjustment. One possible factor would be the general devotion to religion which was capable of providing the binding force and social control and stability needed in the transition. In this connection, reference was made to certain of the UNESCO studies on the social implications of industrialization and urbanization in which it was found that the urban life of the recently arrived migrant was characterized by a distinct increase in religious devotion. This was, of course, in contrast to western urban patterns where decreased religious activity was the case.

Another factor which might provide a force of a stability and unity was the high degree of nationalism prevalent in a majority of Asian countries. The identification with the aspiration of the countries as a whole might provide solidarity and purposefulness as a strength for urban adjustment. A third factor could be the orientation of the governments of the Asian countries toward the concept of the welfare state in which government was regarded as intimately concerned with the well-being of each individual and responsible for the social progress and social protection of all. In connection with any consideration of factors in Asian life which might result in less criminality in Asia than ordinarily expected, the representative of the World Federation for Mental Health referred to preliminary findings of research in Thailand which

/suggested that

suggested that reaction to frustration and emotional conflict resulted more in symptoms of neurotic anxiety and psychosomatic complaints than in overt aggressive behavior. Were these preliminary findings to be sustained and were they to have wide applicability, there would be great implications concerning the amount of criminality and juvenile delinquency to be anticipated in the future.

Moreover, Asian countries are in a position today to study the social programmes which have proved effective in the western countries in combating crimes and other forms of social disintegration and to adapt them to their needs.

Should the countries of the region rely primarily on providing sweeping programmes of social services to combat crime? Such an approach was seen to have great handicaps. In the first instance, it is questionable whether broad social welfare programmes could be afforded at this point in the development of Asian countries. Indeed, it was very few countries of the west, including the most prosperous ones, who felt satisfied that they had been able to provide all the social services necessary. Secondly, the national resources channelled into such programmes must inevitably then be withheld from other programmes of social and economic development. Finally, it was not too harsh to say that such programmes dealing with the adult and juvenile offenders were ameliorative at best.

Many of the general policies in connection with rapid urbanization apparently bear quite directly upon the problem of preventing crime. These include the deceleration of the urbanization process by providing to rural areas those facilities and opportunities which the ruralites, especially the youth, were seeking when they left the village for the city. Moreover, the rural migrant must be prepared for urban living and the urban centre must be prepared to receive him. In this connection reference was made to programmes deliberately aimed at maintaining the contact of the individual with his village, so that effective social controls familiar to him could be carried into urban living.

Finally, it was pointed out that for there adequately to be a comprehensive programme of crime prevention, it was not enough to rely upon a multiplicity of social services unrelated, directly, to crime. Child welfare activities, housing developments etc. were important in themselves, but could not suffice in combating crime. The direct approach to the problem required independent action aimed not only at co-ordinating these services, but also in developing a specialized approach of its own.

Alternatives to over-rapid urbanization The agenda called for consideration of alternatives to over-rapid urbanization. One basic question was whether there really are alternatives to the rapid growth of cities. Is planning really possible, and if so, is it desirable? In the discussion it come out that although there was certainly some scope for planning, the existing situation could be only modified, not fundamentally changed. However, by the location of administrative services and state industries, by building programmes and fixing their rent, by providing transport facilities, by a system of permits for establishments of industries, or retail trade, etc. the government can certainly have considerable influence on the pattern of development.

The American delegate, however, warned against too much planning. A planning service which makes a mistake bears a very grave responsibility although it was not denied that individual entrepreneurs also made mistakes, but these did not have such a large scale effect. A system in which certain freedom was left to individuals within a general framework of planned development seemed an acceptable solution.

If planning is needed, it is important to know where the balance lies between urban and rural development. It is not possible to give offhand an answer to this question. In India 70 per cent of the population lives on agriculture and is not quite able to produce enough for the country; in the United States the percentage is 12 and a large surplus is produced; in the United Kingdom 5 per cent lives on agriculture but there is a deficit. What is the "right" proportion? It obviously depends on the social-economic structure of the country concerned how far urbanization should go, how many cities are really needed.

The reason of existence of a city is the opportunity it provides for division of labour. In the city there is a great diversity of skills which makes it possible to procure a wide range of articles and services. The range of needs and services therefore determines the degree of urbanization. This poses the problem of needs.

Every culture has its own value system and in that system there is a certain set of goods and services which are "normal" for an individual belonging to a certain group in that culture.

/It is not always

It is not always realized how deeply the behaviour of each individual is conditioned by the culture to which he belongs. There are relatively few human actions which are not fully accounted for by the culture in which he lives, for even creative work is little more than drawing a little further the line that had already been indicated by the culture. All the more so in every day life. There is a large set of automatic reactions which facilitate life considerably. Herskovits in an article in the International Social Science Bulletin[1] gives the example of speech. After the human being has learned how to speak, what muscles to use to utter certain sounds which have a certain meaning in his society, his speaking becomes automatic which "frees the individual to give conscious thought to what he is going to say, and makes it unnecessary to pay attention to the mechanisms of speech, he must use in saying it".[2] Even seemingly fully spontaneous utterances are culturally conditioned. When a child who has grown up in a Malay speaking society falls and hurts himself he will cry "aduh", but a child grown up in an English speaking society will say "outch" in the same circumstances. The kind of food we enjoy and of clothes we like depends on our culture with only slight individual deviations.

Every individual has in his mind a "norm" or " standard" of living and his actual "level" of living ought to correspond to that standard.[3]

Where the range of needs is very limited every household is nearly self-sufficient. In small villages in most Asian countries one may not find a single shop, or perhaps a very small one. Prof. Isomura stated in his paper (URB/11, p.12) that one finds "11.3 stores in the rural areas against 24.5 in the urban areas per 1,000 persons". Moreover, the size and variety of shops in urban centres will certainly be larger.

This difference is of the greatest influence on the outlook of village people. In a small village in India or Indonesia where there is practically no division of labour and, therefore, no specialization, it is understandable that, as there is no difference in the quality of experience, the quantity

/only counts.

1/ M.J. Herskovits, Motivation and Culture Pattern in Technological Change ISS B, VolVI, No.3, p. 388ff.

2/ Herskovitz, op.cit. p.392

3/ See also Lacker, Standards and Planes of Living in the Far East, New York, 1952.

only counts. This explains the influence of old people (although there are also other factors). It is interesting, again, to note that the very few like the village teacher who do have another kind of experience, are in high esteem. In the city, on the other hand, where there is an enormous range of specialization which means a rich variety in experience, the respect for the old is far less. The value systems of city dwellers and village people widely differ, especially in Asian countries where these differences are so much deeper as was pointed out in earlier discussions.

When turning back to the balance between urban and rural development, it was found that, although no particular figure could be stated as the desirable proportion because of the different social-economic and value system, nevertheless the percentage of persons depending on agriculture in the densely populated areas of Asia was certainly too high. Various surveys in different countries of Asia seem to indicate that, even without a change in techniques, approximately 30 per cent of the rural workers could be dismissed without any appreciable loss in agricultural production.

It is obvious that such enormous numbers cannot be absorbed by the cities. What solutions can be found?

Is a decrease to be expected in the rate of population growth? In only one country of Asia, in Japan, such a decrease has now clearly started: the birth rate went down from 13 per thousand in 1919-23 to 19 per thousand in 1954.[1/] However, a large percentage of this decrease is due to abortion, a means which is not acceptable to most other countries of Asia. The other countries are in the middle of what has been called the "demographic revolution", namely a very high natural increase due to great decline in the death rate, brought about by better hygienic and medical measures, which is not balanced by a lower birth rate. The result is a natural increase as high as about 3 per cent per year as reported from Ceylon and Malaya, for instance. India has now developed a scheme for birth control clinics which seem to have more success in the towns than in rural areas. Various reasons can be given for this difference, but most important seems to be that the urge for family planning is stronger in the cities where better education

/and a higher

1/ Prof. Eiichi Isomura Urbanization in Japan, Conf. Paper URB/11 p.22.

and a higher level of living make people aware of the importance of maintaining that level and of aiming at a higher standard. This also brought out the question whether this differential fertility would not endanger the quality of the population, as it was feared that the procreation of the less talented part of the population would be markedly faster than that of the other group. However, it was pointed out that it was not a matter of higher intelligence which created the difference, but of opportunity for education. It was clear from experiences in other countries that birth control gradually permeated the whole society and, although the "illerate masses" seemed to grow faster in the first instance than the intelligentsia, this difference disappeared with the spread of education.

One of the Indonesian participants pointed to a solution in quite a different direction which was more acceptable to his country, namely, "transmigration". It was not only expected that the overpopulation of Java could somewhat diminish by the migration of colonists to the Outer Islands, but this movement might also substantially contribute towards the development of those under-populated areas.

However, it was agreed that family planning nor migration would be able to solve the problem, although they might give some relief to over-populated rural areas. As the countries of Asia are predominantly agricultural, it seemed to be necessary to find the solution, partly at least, in agricultural improvement. By the intensification and diversification of agriculture it should be possible to bring about a higher productivity per worker. Such changes in agriculture would certainly require more workers per acre, and this might provide some solution. However, it was realized that this would require, in most cases, more than just the introduction of cash crop or a switch to horticulture, as the prerequisites would be a steady water supply, agricultural education, and rural development in general. This should include

/provision

provision of more and better amenities in rural areas in order to make the village a more agreeable place to live in. If such a change would succeed, it might mean a double advantage: a large number of un- and under-employed workers could be absorbed who are now potential migrants to the cities, and the gulf between village and city culture would become narrower. For this new kind of agriculture would require more careful methods based on scientific research, would bring about a certain specialization, would enable village people to aim at a higher standard of living and to bring them closer to the understanding of city mentality. This would be enhanced by their more numerous and intensive contacts with the city or town, as their economy would change from a largely subsistence to a market economy.

Finally, the decentralization of industries was discussed and its social aspects. The example of Japan quoted in the ECAFE paper (URB/3, pp. 2-3) and its small industries seemed of particular importance. It seemed interesting to add that 54 per cent of Japan's industrial workers were engaged in small establishments of 5 persons or less in the thirties when Japan's industrial production was probably at its peak. These workshops needed limited capital equipment. Such small industries are possible when there is an excellent economic organization providing for regular marketing of the products, cheap power supply (usually electricity) and long working hours. The social aspects of these industries are certainly not only favourable. Labour laws cannot easily be enforced in such small establishments and amenities available in large factories are usually not provided. Moreover, one should not forget that these industries are often situated in large cities and thus may even help city growth, although it is certain that a large part is to be found in villages or small towns.

Definite advantages are: the workers need not leave their families; personal relationship with the employer and fellow-workers; the villager learns the value of time; his sense of precision is sharpened; some working discipline is learnt although these small establishments do not have the rigid organization of large factories; there is scope for the educated young man who now finds work in his own village instead of going to the city and so draining the village from its best elements. All this again helps to bridge the gap between village and city. There are two more advantages, namely, the large number of independent "industrialists" possible in such an organization which enlarges the number of people accustomed to taking decisions and, finally, the understanding of the machine with which the labourers work work will give them a greater feeling of security.

It is not always realized that in a small establishment with simple machinery it is possible for the worker to have a perfect understanding of how the machine works, and how it serves him. He can rely upon his tools and knows how to handle them and to maintain them. This gives the worker in a small and simple industry a definite advantage over his colleague in a large factory with complicated machinery where the individual worker only carries out a small part of the total manufacturing process without being able to understand or to control the total industrial process. This makes his work automatic. His lack of understanding inevitably influences his whole outlook: as he is accustomed to not understanding his immediate environment he might be an easy prey for superstition or political humbug. He will not have the feeling of security his fellow worker may have who really understands his machines and so takes the habit of wanting to understand the things of his environment.

Although the overall possibilities of fundamental change in urbanization might be small, nonetheless at the level of specific programmes the choice of alternatives could be of vital importance. A number of factors have to be taken into account in making decisions which have important social consequences.

Education

A quick look was taken at the existing situation in the rapidly growing urban areas. Apart from the natural growth of population because of a high birth rate, and decreasing death rate, there had been heavy influx of people to urban areas due to various reasons such as, want of employment in the villages, possibility of employment in the cities, political insecurity due to war and internal disturbances and movement of population due to political partition. The educational facilities which were inadequate even before this influx could not at all cope with the increased demand created by the new situation.

The authorities had a hard time in providing food, clothing and shelter to the incoming migrants, which naturally claimed the highest priority. So, though the need for education was recognized, it had to wait till the other crying problems were tackled. Educational facilities could not therefore be extended as quickly as the population increased. The result was overcrowding in schools and colleges. Many of them had to work in double shifts for different sets of pupils and some had to run evening and night classes as well. This is still true for many areas, though a large number of schools have already been built. Taking advantage of the shortage, some shrewd and unscrupulous persons started a few educational institutions with profit motive, charging very high fees and providing very inferior type of facilities in the shape of accommodation, equipment and staff.

It was pointed out that people had great faith in the power of education in influencing human behaviour and it could be used to bring about desirable forms of behaviour or response to given circumstances. But the existing educational facilities in the urban areas in ECAFE region were inadequate. So in planning future extension of existing cities and establishment of new towns, it was essential to locate educational institutions of different types at convenient centres of residential areas so that the children of that area could attend schools without having to travel a long way amidst the hazards of city traffic. There should be one elementary school for each two to four

/thousand

thousand of the population and a secondary school for say, eight to sixteen thousand population. Vocational schools, technical schools, polytechnics, and evening classes of different kinds should also be located at convenient centres. Provision should also be made for counselling and guidance and dissemination of information about employment opportunities and the qualifications required for them.

While planning for educational facilities for the children, the adults were not to be forgotten. It was well known that a large proportion of the adult population of ECAFE region migrating to urban areas was illiterate, which stood in the way of their adjustment to urban life and to their employment in better paid jobs. Arrangement should be made to educate the adult illiterates and to orientate them to the urban life. Apart from formal literacy they needed training in safety against the hazards of urban traffic, and of machines in factories. They had also to be accustomed to work at fixed hours. They were to be cautioned against absenteeism and laziness which would impair their efficiency.

The factory labourers were not to be considered merely as so many operatives in the production lines. They were to be treated with sympathy and understanding as human beings, having psychological and emotional needs, to be satisfied labour welfare officers of the right type could do a lot in making the workers happier and better adjusted to the changed environment.

It was also essential to utilize the informal agencies for education, such as the church, the temple, the mosque, the club, the library, the community centre, the museum, the press, the radio, the cinema, the television etc.

Education for complete living included education for work as well as leisure. Education for work was simple to understand. Its aim was to develop economic competency to enable the individual to earn a living. But education for leisure might seem to be a little more difficult. Its aim was to create in the individual a taste for healthy pursuits to utilize his leisure time so that he may be able to share in the cultural enjoyment of literature, poetry, drama, music, films, sports and the like, and to make an active effort in creating recreation for himself.

/He added

He added that human beings were valuable materials potentially capable of making important contributions to the happiness and well-being of the total human race. It was our own responsibility to develop their potentiality by giving proper education and opportunities to be useful citizens of the world. Education must help the individual to adapt himself to his new situation and give him the necessary orientation for the changes confronted in an urban areas. Such adjustment would prevent him from becoming a delinquent, a neurotic or a deviate.

Generally speaking, industrialists in the ECAFE region did not recognise the importance of such social investments as building of schools, clubs, libraries and hospitals for their workers. In this respect Governments would have to compel industrialists to re-invest a part of their profits in such projects.

Along with the education of the urban population we had to remember that the need for education in the villages was more urgent, as illiteracy and ignorance was more acute in rural areas. We could utilize the the educational projects in the villages in arresting the drift to urban areas without proper preparation for gainful employment. The condition of living in rural areas should be improved through UNESCO's Fundamental Education programmes, through Village Aid and community projects, which tried to help the villagers to help themselves. In addition to imparting literacy to the villager, these projects aimed at improving the condition of living in the villages, and creating opportunities for employment or self-employment by encouraging small industries for utilizing local raw materials. Agricultural income could also be increased through V. AID projects, by adopting simple improved methods, introducing vegetable farming, horticulture, fruit culture and better utilization of land through crop rotation. These measures might decelerate, if not arrest, large-scale migration to urban areas, and mitigate the evils of ovdr-rapid urbanization such as overcrowding, dirt, disease, destitution and moral degradation. It had to be remembered that the most profitable investment a backward country could make was to spend on education.

The importance of adapting UNESCO's Fundamental Education programmes for introduction in urban areas was also stressed by the speaker.

/In a general

In a general discussion of problems relating to education the following points emerged:

i. The International Conference of Social Work, in its recent meeting had discussed the ways and means for combating the evils of over-rapid urbanisation.

ii. Labourers liked to take advantage of adult education programmes if they could afford the cost.

iii. Industrialists in Ahmedabad in India, provided several amenities such as libraries for their workers and schlarships for their children.

iv. In-service training in industry was helpful in improving efficiency and productivity and reducing accidents in factories.

v. In addition to academic subjects, it was necessary to give a technical and practical grounding to the students.

vi. Accelerated technical training could be given in factories which could be decentralised to avoid the evil effects of rapid urbanisation.

vii. Community projects for development and self-help could be extended to urban areas with great advantage.

viii. The educational system of each country should cater to its own needs but should not concentrate on technical education to the exclusion of humanities and general cultural subjects.

ix. Science students should know something of humanities and the students of humanities should acquire some general knowledge of science to broaden their outlook.

x. Effective provision should be made for the education of the physically and mentally defective children with a view to making them useful citizens.

Physical

In the discussion of a physical aspects of urbanization with respect to town and country planning, the following items were considered: (a) the relationship between urbanization and the physical environment; (b) the role of housing, building and community improvement in the process of urbanization; (c) physical or environmental planning; and (d) the regional planning approach as a means to guide urbanization.

Urbanization and physical environment

Asian cities are attracting large numbers of rural people. The drift away from the village is due to the growing pressure of people on food producing land, to a change from a predominantly peasant economy to modern industrialized production, and to the more intimate contact of the developing areas with the expanding world market. In recent years the pace of this process of urbanization has become rapid and congestion and blight are rampant in many cities, while at the same time the rural environment continues to deteriorate and the gap between urban and rural living is becoming wider. The urbanization process is particularly intensive in the countries which have recently gained independence; whose economies have changed from colonial to national economies and where the net increase in the population is mainly reflected in a phenomenal growth of cities.

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With the development of trade through better transport and communications of a wider range and capacity, the urban/rural balance of a particular region tends to become increasingly influenced by the demographic, economic, social, cultural and political factors outside that region. The world-wide requirements of production, consumption and trade are thus becoming more important elements in economic development, industrialization and urbanization everywhere. Great changes may also occur in the pace of industrialization and the urban/rural relationship in the developing areas as a result of the technological advances which can be expected from the development of modern industry and agriculture, automation and nuclear energy.

The deterioration of the urban environment and the problem of housing in Asia are perhaps worse than in other parts of the world. The process of urbanization here, which was once characterized by a slow and gradual change, is now becoming increasingly rapid, massive, intensive and pregnant with social problems. Its symptoms are social maladjustment and drastic physical change leaving often in its wake slums and environmental blight. Programmes designed to prevent or to repair the ills connected with an explosive expansion of cities are being hampered by lack of investment funds and frustrated by the fast growing population and the migration to cities. Approaches, methods and techniques are being sought to cope more effectively with the rapid change in the settlement pattern and to achieve a more balanced development through planned location and growth of industry in relation to the other fields of production. Physical planning in step with economic and social programmes has consequently become an essential factor influencing balanced development.

/Housing,

Housing, Community Improvement and Building

The improvement of man's physical environment is a visible expression of a rise in living conditions. It is composed of the family shelter and its environment including a number of amenities, services and facilities which provide the link between the family and the group, and help to transform a "house" into a family home within a community. The problem of providing better housing and communities has assumed staggering proportions under the impact of industrialization and rapid urbanization. The intensity of the housing crisis and the expansion of urban and rural slums suggest the need for bold and imaginative action. The limitation of investment capital, however, and the keen competition for available funds call for economy to meet enormous needs with small outlays.

Governments are assuming increasing responsibility for the financing housing and community improvement programmes as part of their general social and economic policy. Practical action by central as well as by local authorities in a significant number of countries is being geared to their economic possibilities and general development programmes. As a result resources in materials, plant, manpower and funds that can be made available for current and future housing programmes are being assessed in the light of their contribution to full employment and social betterment, to economic growth and better living conditions.

Housing and community facilities, together with education and health, belong to the category of so-called "social overhead" projects. They are beginning to be considered as basic to economic development. In this respect they can be compared to the "economic overhead" projects such as transport, communications and power, which are generally accepted to be requisite for effective economic development. These overhead projects provide little or no yield in foreign exchange. They generally furnish low yields and take a considerable time to realize any yields in financial terms. Their benefits, however, are derived from the more balanced development of economic activities which utilize them.

It is

It is now being recognized that provision of adequate housing and community facilities must accompany, or even precede, resource development if serious obstacles to economic progress and the high social costs of haphazard urbanization are to be avoided. There appears, however, to be a considerable area of conflict in the sphere of national policy formulation in the developing countries, between the "economic" and the "social" approach. The housing enthusiast seeks prompt fulfilment of housing needs without appreciation of the difficulty of supplying the resources required. The development enthusiast, however, sees the problem of economic development in terms of scarce capital resources which should be diverted to "more productive tasks".

The relation of housing finance to economic development involves examination of many complex problems such as the share of investment funds which the countries can and should allot to housing and community improvement programmes in the interest of balanced economic growth and stability. It also calls for the establishment of priorities among the different social programmes including housing and community facilities. Housing, furthermore, is deeply involved in the process of saving and investment. It is a type of capital formation that both encourages and strengthens long-term patterns of saving. People will save for better housing who would not make their savings automatically available for capital formation otherwise. As the shortage of savings is a severe obstacle to economic growth in the developing countries, this additional mobilization through house building may be an important contribution.

In connection with housing and community facilities for people in the lower income groups it is most important to foster and improve the production of local building materials, both as cottage industries and on a larger scale. In order to reduce the cost of urban housing and to improve its quality in and around large agglomerations experiencing intensive shortages, highly productive building and building materials industries on a sufficiently large scale are necessary to cope with the required volume at costs attainable. This is essential also for the general economic development since a large share of capital investment funds goes into structures of different kinds.

/ At the same

At the same time it must be considered that housing programmes cannot mature successfully unless the house-types adopted - both in regard to construction and accommodation - are related to the economic, social and physical conditions of a country, or a given area. Variations in house-types between countries, and also within a country, are to be expected. House-types, furthermore, are not likely to be static, but will depend on social and economic advancement. Housing codes should, therefore, provide for such changes and should aim at establishing guiding principles, and the standards of performance required from a dwelling to be healthy, safe and convenient, rather than at fixing specific sizes or construction methods.

Housing standards cannot be separated from the corresponding standards for utilities social services and community facilities, including in urban areas, transport between residence and the place of work. When resources are scarce, greater emphasis should be laid on adequate community and regional planning, and on the provision of utilities, services and facilities, rather than on a limited number of well equipped houses in a poor environment.

No government has sufficient resources to provide all the housing and community facilities needed; the people may have them. Practical solutions should therefore combine their skills and resourcefulness; the rational application of local materials; the social advantages of group work; and the best use of assistance from public authority in funds or materials, in equipment, and in technical advice. The community development process could thus be effectively used for the improvement of home and community. Projects of such obvious and direct benefit to individual and group - through self-help and mutual aid - have often become focal points for local action which has usually extended into other fields of improvement as well.

The studies prepared for the seminar and the discussions during the seminar itself have clearly indicated that the "push" away from the village and the "pull" towards the city are together responsible for the current rise in internal migration. Some additional movement from country to town is a result of social and political changes during and after the Second World War. Thus the dominant motivations for the drift to the city are economic. They are a social by-product of demographic growth and economic change. It would of course

/be idle

be idle to pretend that this desire for improvement of one's condition of life can be arrested or turned back. The question therefore is how can nations adjust their planning and turn this population drive into a positive contribution to social and economic development.

Better housing, social and cultural amenities and more adequate community facilities in rural areas especially may help to slow down the drift and reduce the city's psychological impact in rural people. Bringing industry into the rural areas, both small and large, could do even better. Location of industry within existing clusters of villages might bring to the rural population direct benefits from a new source of livelihood injected into the area. The usual drift to the immediate vicinity of the production centre might possibly be reduced and fewer village people might have to be transplanted into entirely different urban environments. The process of urbanization could then take a more positive form and bring more of the benefits of industrialization into the rural area - higher family incomes; better community facilities; more desirable community environment, thus combining the advantages of rural living and industrial employment. In this way perhaps a more desirable mix between central planning and individual and group initiative could be also achieved.

Physical or Environmental Planning

Formulation of broad development concepts and a varying degree of economic planning have become accepted functions of government in practically all countries since the Second World War. In a growing number of cases, health, education, housing and social welfare in general have also become important components of national development policy and programmes.

It is generally agreed that social improvement is not an inevitable consequence of economic development. Nevertheless, changes in the social and the physical environment are seldom considered together with the proposed economic changes inherent in resource development. Experience, however, shows that even when the social setting in which a development programme is started and the resulting social changes have been envisaged, the full measure of the expected social and economic gains has failed to materialize unless the necessary changes of the physical environment were also anticipated and planned for at the same time. This is particularly important for the less developed countries where economic and technological resources are scarce.

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To be realistic the proposed goals (in terms of specific projects) of an economic development programme for a given region need to be evaluated in the light of available resources natural, economic, technological and human. They must also be gauged against the anticipated social and cultural requirements at various stages of development. Finally, specific projects must be related to each other within the framework of a physical or environmental plan for an area or community. The direction, pace and consecutive phases of such a plan will necessarily depend on the essential factors affecting development: the known natural resources, the physical conditions of the area, its economic potential, the social acceptance of the proposed changes and, of course, political considerations.

It is the task of physical or environmental planning to define in physical terms the different components of a specific development programme, by assessing and recommending within a given area, zones for industrial, agricultural, residential, social and cultural uses and by establishing a rational pattern for transport and communications, for power supply and distribution, and for other utility networks as part of the overall programme. On such basis environmental planning provides an opportunity to reconcile the often divergent interests of material production in its narrow sense with human welfare, and to help establish a better balance in the urban/rural relationship of a developing area. The more rapid the urbanization process becomes, the more necessary it is to plan for it, so that costly mistakes of the past can be avoided.

Physical planning thus conceived is part of a many-sided process of economic and social development and its course clearly depends on a variety of development factors. First of all, economic and technological means vary from place to place, as do the natural and human resources available. Furthermore, current plans are based on economic and social activities which have started before a particular intervention and will

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continue long after the present intervention. Finally, social and political conditions are projecting throughout the planning and development cycle a general and often changing framework within which action is conceived, accepted and executed, and it is therefore not the "physical planner" who usually makes the planning decisions.

The discussions on land problems have pointed out the urgent need for converting generalizations into constructive and practical policies, and for reconciling the rights of the individual with the public interest before the full force of industrialization and urbanization has stratified land patterns and made rearranging difficult. The enactment of requisite land legislation, where it does not exist, and its proper application, where it does, is essential to avoid speculation with urban land at the expense of the lower income groups and the recent immigrants in particular.

Most participants have stated that "efficient town planning" was an answer to the ill effects of over rapid urbanization. But it has also been stated that current interventions attempting to reduce the rural"urban migration has rarely been accompanied by a conscious effort at community and regional planning. Thus it generally happens that housing, community facilities (educational and health services for instance) and the essential utilities are outstripped by both the growth of population and the pace of urbanization. It has further been noted that where there is central economic planning, there is a greater readiness to consider the social and the physical setting and consequences of economic development. But they are usually considered too late and too little is done about them.

Physical planning is a continuing process and it can be suitably done only by an organization including the required expert knowledge and the necessary legislative and financial authority. Its work is of a long term character and the concept of comprehensive planning requires team work as a vehicle. It is therefore more important to establish

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the necessary planning organization, to provide it with the required staff which often needs to be trained, and to set out the methods and procedures and secure the funds and legislation - then to draw up a master plan that will not continue to be supported by a planning body. A close relationship between the physical planning organ and the economic and social development units in the government is a primary condition for success.

Comprehensive regional planning and development

The economically under-developed countries are sometime considered to be now at a stage of development comparable to that of highly industrialized countries one hundred years ago. The result of the relatively slow economic development in the past has generally been a progressive deterioration of their urban environment. Some of these countries have, even after a century of effort, not yet repaired the damage of a long neglect and millions of human beings belonging to the lower income groups continue to be exposed - as slum dwellers - to the worse physical and social hazards. To accept the view that an equally long period of disorganization and urban squalor is unavoidable would offer a grim future for the developing countries.

Without going into the fundamental difference between both the past and the present socio-economic settings in the West and in Asia, one should consider at least two new factors which make it unnecessary to repeat the costly mistakes of the past. One is the fact that present technology offers a wider range of possibilities for the region wide distribution of population and for community structure than was possible in the 19th century. The other is the increasing role of government and public responsibility in the planning and development process.

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From the development point of view, each community is related to others as regards economic, physical and social factors. Development in one place calls for co-ordination of local projects with regional and national programmes. The region, in fact, is the link between the individual community and the nation. A regional plan permits more easily an identification of national goals in terms of local action. In other words, it offers a suitable framework within which development projects of national, as well as of local, significance can find their proper place. It therefore also provides an opportunity to mobilize through community development the human resources of an area for economic and social progress at the local level, but within the scope of national development goals.

Attempts to achieve integrated economic, social and physical development of the total resources of an area through regional planning afford an approach that may prevent undesirable social effects of urbanization and permit industrialization without the growth of slum areas. Regional planning in the past has been limited primarily to the re-development of metropolitan areas or to river valley development, where hydro-electric energy served as a sources of power. The possibility of introducing nuclear energy in a wide range of geographic locations may expand also the opportunity for careful regional planning of the use of resources that have not been tapped to date for lack of power.

The urbanization process in the countries developing at present does not necessarily have to follow the pattern characteristic of the already industrialized countries. Different and more complex

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development problems are emerging at the present stage and, correspondingly, society disposes of new and better means to cope with them. The process of urbanization and the urban/rural relationship might therefore probably be tempered and channelled through integrated economic, social and physical planning and the development of the natural, technoligical and human resources. Comprehensive regional planning is thus equally important for the redevelopment of metropolitan areas for the opening up of new resources, and for the reconstruction of rural regions.

There is an important aspect of urbanization in relation to physical and regional planning. Not only does the social structure of the village generally cease to dominate and guide the new city immigrant but the traditional social structure of the host city itself also changes under the impact of industrialization and the influx of immigrants. The city, it has been said, is the physical image of economic condition and the social structure and culture of a society. But cities continue to be rebuilt and new towns are being planned without sufficient care for their socio-economic function in the modern industrial society, and the interaction cities and their hinterland. Socio-economic research and conclusive data on the city's role in contemporary society, on its fuction within a region, and on the type of physical environment conducive to a more balanced mix of urban-rural cultures are still lacking.